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FEBRUARY MEETING, 1901.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 14th inst., at three o'clock, P.M.; the President in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved, and the Librarian read the list of donors to the Library. The Cabinet-keeper said that he had received from Miss Palfrey, of Cambridge, a fine photograph of a miniature of her ancestor, Colonel William Palfrey, an officer in the army of the Revolution, and grandfather of the eminent historian, John Gorham Palfrey. The Corresponding Secretary read an invitation from the University of Glasgow to the Society to be represented at the four hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the University, which will be celebrated in June next. The invitation was referred to the Council with full power. The Secretary also read a letter from Mr. Harold G. Parsons, sometime member of the Legislative Council of Western Australia, relative to the designation of any of the American Colonies as kingdoms, an inquiry in which Mr. Parsons had been much interested for several years.

The PRESIDENT announced to the Society the death of the Right Rev. Mandell Creighton, Bishop of London, an Honorary Member. The Bishop of London, he said, was elected at the January meeting of 1887, now fourteen years ago. He was then known as Professor Creighton of Cambridge. At about the same time he received the degree of LL.D. from Harvard, then celebrating its two hundred and fiftieth anniversary. In 1890 Professor Creighton was appointed Bishop of Peterborough. The members of the Society will remember that, in December, 1897, Bishop Creighton, who had then been translated from Peterborough to London, was by the Society transferred from its Corresponding to the Honorary list, in recognition of valuable services rendered in connection with the return of the Bradford manuscript from the library at Lambeth to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Of Bishop

Creighton it is unnecessary to speak at length; neither is there any occasion why a lengthy notice of him should appear in our Proceedings. The record of an historian and a divine of such eminence will always be found in every biographical dictionary; and, in his case, an authentic biography will unquestionably appear.

Though he had been on the Corresponding or Honorary lists of the Society for fourteen years, the PRESIDENT stated that he was not aware that Bishop Creighton had ever been present at a meeting, or contributed to our Proceedings. He would, however, always be held in most grateful recollection by the people of Massachusetts for the active interest he took in the return of the famous Bradford manuscript.

Mr. WILLIAM S. APPLETON said: —

I was sorry, Mr. President, not to be at the last meeting to say just a few words suggested by the recent death of the more than venerable James W. Bradbury, of Maine. He was the last link in one of the chains which connect the political life of to-day with that of the past. He was the last man living who sat in the Senate of the United States before it met in executive session in March, 1861, with thirteen vacant seats. He was, in fact, a Senator during the Mexican War; and he is just dead!

The Rt. Hon. John Morley was elected a Corresponding Member.

Rev. Dr. ALEXANDER MCKENZIE communicated the memoir of the late Rev. Dr. Edwards A. Park, and Mr. BARRETT WENDELL the memoir of the late William W. Greenough, which they had been respectively appointed to write for publication in the Proceedings.

Mr. ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS presented a copy of the official report of the Comptroller of the State of California for 1853, which, he said, had been sent to him by a friend who valued it not only because it was curious, but because the document had become rare. A glance at its contents would show that it certainly was a financial curiosity. In 1849 California borrowed \$209,100 at three per cent a month, and a remnant of this loan was still outstanding, the delinquent in-

terest of which exceeded in amount several times the unpaid capital. It seemed incredible that the credit of this great State could ever have been in such a condition that it was compelled to pay monthly for the use of money what would to-day be regarded as a fair annual return for high-grade trust funds. Mr. Davis thought the document was fairly entitled to preservation upon the shelves of this Society.

The PRESIDENT referred to the recent fire in the house of our associate the Hon. William Everett at Quincy, and asked him if he could state any facts in regard to it.

In reply to the President's remarks, Mr. EVERETT stated that on the 3d of January last past, a destructive fire had occurred at his house, which in a very short time had destroyed a considerable number of books, pictures, curiosities, and pieces of furniture. When access could be had to the scene of the fire, the upper part, about two feet in length, was found of Washington's cane, greatly charred, but allowing the material — Malacca — to be recognized. The gold head, recording the presentation by the Ladies' Mount Vernon Association to Mr. Edward Everett in the summer of 1857, was uninjured. This remnant was exhibited to the Society.

Rev. Dr. EDMUND F. SLAFTER read the following paper:

Remarks on Coat Armor.

The use of coat armor in England dates back to a very early period. Its beginning is fixed by no existing record. The right to use heraldic insignia was a privilege granted by the sovereign, in the exercise of his princely prerogative, and was a royal recognition for the achievement of some important and distinguished public service.

We cannot doubt that the ulterior design of the sovereign was to attach his most prominent and influential subjects among the yeomanry to his person and his government, and thus augment his authority and increase his power.

In the early centuries the granting of coat armor was apparently subject to few conditions and controlled by no fixed rules. But when the population of England became expanded and the public interests enlarged, numerous, and varied, it became important to regulate the use of coat armor by the sanction of organic laws and chartered rights. To meet this

exigency, a corporation, commonly known as the Herald's College, was organized and chartered. This took place in the brief reign of Richard III., either in the year 1483 or 1484.

Similar institutions were established in Scotland, and likewise in Ireland. To these organizations, as representatives of the sovereign, are committed the grant, the design, the blazon, and the registration of coat armor.

From the incorporation of the Herald's College, all arms legitimately granted are recorded in the Herald's office. The genuineness of coats of arms which have been granted since the establishment of that college, or within the last four hundred years, can therefore be proved by reference to the records of that corporation.

But previous to this, arms had been granted to large numbers of the yeomanry of England, for a period stretching through several centuries, possibly to the advent of William the Conqueror. Of these early grants no records were apparently kept, or, if so, they were left in such confusion as to be of no practical value. To enable this class to put their right to bear arms upon record, and to prevent the illegal assumption of arms, commissioners were sent into different parts of the kingdom to hear and adjust all claims which might be presented for the registration of arms. Five of these commissions, commonly called visitations, were at different times appointed, the first in 1528 and the last in 1686. It is therefore highly probable that at the present moment most of those, who at any time received the royal grant to bear coat armor, are properly recorded in the Herald's College, and consequently their right can be proved by reference to that institution.¹

It is interesting to observe that the grants were made mostly, if not exclusively, to the yeomanry of England, who were holders of small landed estates. It constituted them technically, and in a restricted sense, gentlemen; but this term was also used in England in a broader sense, and comprehended all ranks, extending to the royal family. A gentleman, in the higher, nobler, and better sense, is determined largely by temperament and by manners and bearing, moulded and in-

¹ It is understood that the fees charged for investigations in the Herald's office are large, varying somewhat according to the dignity of the family for which they are made.

spired by a delicate, subtle, and refined taste. It was in this sense that one of the kings of England is reported to have said that he could easily create a nobleman, but he could not make a gentleman.

While in England there is a commendable ambition to rise into the higher ranks, there is little apparent jealousy between different classes. The serving man or the serving woman is proud of having been in the family of a nobleman, and each looks upon it as a coveted distinction. The public sentiment and taste have been so adjusted by long usage and education to this condition in their social relations, that it is hardly probable that any considerable number of persons could be found in England to-day who would wish to abolish the prevailing class distinctions. They are fixed and permanent, changing only by the slow process of evolution, whose movements are reckoned by centuries and not by years.

But in this country, in the United States, class distinctions are not recognized; they do not exist. They have been rejected from the beginning. They are not in accord or harmony with our popular institutions. The United States government and our State governments are prohibited by the Constitution from granting any titles of nobility. The President of the United States attaches to his name no title beyond the simple designation of the office he bears.

In 1867 an attempt was made to establish what might be, in this country, an equivalent to the Herald's College in England. The Hon. John W. Chanler, of New York, offered in the House of Representatives a resolution requesting the Committee on Ways and Means to levy a tax on family crests and coats of arms, worn as ornaments on vehicles or household furniture, actually in use.

The scheme was ingenious and well considered. The late Mr. William H. Whitmore, a member of this Society, whose knowledge of heraldry and of the use of coat armor was probably more thorough and comprehensive than that of any other person in this country, was deeply interested in the project. He prepared and published an elaborate argument in advocacy of the scheme,¹ and set forth in the "Heraldic Journal," of which he was the editor, the principal provisions of the law

¹ Reasons for the Regulation of the Use of Coat Armor in the United States, etc. By W. H. Whitmore. Boston, 1868.

which he wished to be enacted by the Congress. These provisions were in substance as follows:—

First, any person who desires to be authorized to use coat armor must file a description of the arms he elects to use, in the United States District Court.

Second, he must pay into the Treasury of the United States the sum of fifty dollars or more, as may be determined by statute.

Third, he must pay a yearly tax for the privilege of bearing said arms.

Fourth, he must take out a license, annually, for the engraved plate, or seals, or paintings of the arms which he is entitled to use.

It will be observed that, according to this proposed scheme, any person could be authorized to use coat armor who should pay into the United States Treasury a fixed sum of money and a yearly tax for the privilege of bearing arms, without any other personal qualification whatever. In other words, the right to bear arms was to be granted for money, and not for merit. This scheme was doubtless as good and feasible as any which could be devised. But it was in itself incongruous. It was an attempt to unite oil and water, to join things together which were in their nature repugnant. It proposed to bestow with government sanction, on the payment of money, badges or insignia which had been held for many centuries by the English-speaking people as emblems or symbols to be granted only to persons who had performed in war, in science, in art, or in government, some important and distinguished public service. It is plain that no person could qualify himself in this manner to be the bearer of coat armor without the sacrifice of personal dignity and self-respect.

It is hardly necessary to add that this proposed scheme died in embryo. There is no law or authorization whatever in this country for the use of coat armor. The structure of our national government and the social relations of our people are such that it is clearly impossible to organize any system here that shall be an equivalent of the Herald's College in England.

But while this is true, there is nevertheless a considerable number of families in this country who are properly and rightly entitled to use coat armor. This right is in all cases an inheritance. The method of proving a valid claim or title to coat

armor is as well defined as is that of proving an inheritance of real estate, and in most respects the two methods are similar. Recourse to original records is necessary in both cases. When the use of coat armor is granted by concession of the sovereign, through the Herald's College, it is granted to a particular honored citizen and to his posterity.¹ It follows therefore, of necessity, that whoever claims by inheritance under this grant must prove that he is descended from this identical honored citizen or grantee. He must trace his ancestry back, step by step, to the first receiver of the royal favor. Bearing the same name gives him no claim whatever, any more than it does to the claimant of inherited real estate. If Mr. John Brown should die, leaving a large landed property, and all the innumerable Browns should come forward in endless procession and claim a part of the inheritance on the ground that they bore the honored name of Brown, they would doubtless retire from the ignominious contest in shame, humiliation, and disgrace. We need hardly add that whoever claims a right to coat armor, as an inheritance from a fancied ancestor of his own name, but to whom he cannot trace his lineage, must find himself in a not less embarrassing situation.

In England only a few of any given name can claim the right to bear coat armor, and the same is equally true in this country.

There is, however, in New England a very small number of persons who may claim the right to use coat armor by prescription; in other words, by immemorial use. To validate this claim, it is necessary to prove that the claimant's direct ancestors used the arms in question far back in the past, probably before the Herald's College was established in 1483. This evidence must pass under the scrutiny of the Herald's College, and if to them it is satisfactory, the claim is by them ratified and confirmed. But without this confirmation such arms are regarded as invalid and worthless.

In England the assumption or infringement of the arms of another is punishable by a heavy penalty; but in this country there is no legal impediment, and the jackdaws may adorn

¹ The grant is sometimes, by special favor, extended to the brothers of the grantee, but it must be so stated in the original charter. The descendants of the brothers are in such case entitled to bear arms, and the method of proving their right is the same.

themselves in borrowed plumage, if so be it comports with their sense of propriety and good taste.¹

Spurious arms have been fabricated both in this country and in England in large numbers. In New England there were, from about the year 1700 down to the year 1825, several painters of coat armor. Among the most conspicuous were Mr. John Coles and his son of the same name. With them the delineation of armorial bearings was a specialty, and they appear to have conducted an active and thriving business.

In the first volume of the "Heraldic Journal," published in Boston in 1865, a correspondent gives a sufficiently clear description of the fraudulent arms painted and sold by Mr. John Coles. The following is a brief abstract of this correspondent's communication: There are many families in New England who possess old paintings of their coats of arms. They are blazoned on a sheet of paper about fourteen inches by ten. The shield is generally surmounted by a closed side-faced helmet of blue and gold. Outside of the two corners of the shield are often, if not always, two green branches. On the scroll instead of the usual motto is inserted "In the name of" *John Brown* or whoever applies for the said arms. Mr. John Stott, an English engraver, living in Boston about 1840, states that Mr. Coles painted the helmets, the shields, and ornaments at his leisure, and filled them up whenever he found a purchaser. He sometimes completed his heraldic design by introducing the United States flag.

We may here add a brief note, found in the same journal, from the Rev. William Jenks, D.D. Dr. Jenks was a distinguished member of this Society, a man of great learning in many directions, an antiquary of long experience and excellent judgment, who died in Boston in 1866. His note is in reply to an inquiry by the editor of the "Heraldic Journal," and is as follows:—

¹ The following free method of assuming arms without any show of authority, as illustrated in a work entitled the "Halls of New England," is not uncommon in the numerous books on family history recently published. The author explains as follows:—

"Much inquiry has been made for arms preserved in the Hall families in New England, and although several have been found, no one of them is satisfactory in every respect, yet most of them point to the Halls of Warwickshire, Eng., as their origin. Therefore I have *chosen* that as a representative illustration."

An engraving of the arms accompanies the above statement.

“With respect to your question concerning Mr. Coles, I can reply that I knew him in my early life, and often called on him, as I remember, in making inquiries about heraldry. Mr. Coles’ authorities for his drawings of coats of arms were very scanty, being, as I have supposed, confined to Guillim’s folio volume.¹ And he was in the habit of giving arms to applicants, whenever he found them assigned in that book to the family name of his employer, without much, if any, genealogical research or inquiry. If no crest were found in Guillim, he did not hesitate to raise on the torse our national flag. His charge for furnishing such drawings, of folio size, was, I recollect, a guinea.”²

Beside the method here mentioned by Dr. Jenks, we have recently seen an example of these heraldic paintings in which the bearings in the escutcheon are absolutely the same as found in Guillim’s work, but nevertheless under an entirely different name.

Another device to which these painters appear to have resorted was the selection of emblems or bearings from different shields, which they found in books on heraldry, and bringing them together in a new escutcheon, in a kind of mosaic work, they found it not difficult to cover up their method, and thus shield themselves in their nefarious fraud.

It would, perhaps, be an exaggeration to say that in the last part of the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth centuries, from about 1750 to 1825, New England was inundated by these fraudulent paintings of coats of arms, but it would not be an exaggeration to say that numbers of them were palmed off upon some of our most worthy and intelligent citizens.

While the paintings of Mr. Coles were for the most part distinctive and could in general be identified, nevertheless, as there were six or eight others who were given in some measure to the same occupation, we cannot always tell who were the painters of the spurious arms of any particular family. Neither can we tell what learned wag induced the rich tobacconist to place upon the panel of his carriage his spurious arms, with

¹ A DISPLAY OF HERALDRY, MANIFESTING a more easie access to the knowledge thereof then hath hitherto been published by any, through the benefit of Method; wherein it is now reduced by the Study and Industry of John Guillim late Pursuivant at ARMS. London, 1660.

² *Vide* Heraldic Journal, vol. i. p. 108.

the significant motto, *Quid rides!!* a motto singularly appropriate, whether it be Latin or English.

There is in all men a natural pride of ancestry. There are few, unless they are far gone from original righteousness, who have not a distinct satisfaction in knowing that they are descended from a line of ancestry both distinguished and respectable. This characteristic is deeply seated in the constitution of man. To ignore it is a false modesty; to parade it too freely before others is a want of good taste. It is not therefore, on the whole, a matter of surprise that a considerable number of our New England citizens, our landed farmers, our thrifty merchants, our lawyers, our doctors, our clergymen, uninformed as they were and unsuspecting, should, under the seductive words and smiles of Mr. John Coles, be willing to sacrifice the modest sum of an English guinea to become the possessor of a precious heirloom, a memorial certifying to a distinguished ancestry living far back in the distant centuries.

Most of these fraudulent arms are now either kept as memorials of a successful imposition, or they have been wholly discarded and long since relegated to the dusty precincts of ancient garrets, where they have already slumbered in obscurity for several generations.

On the breaking up of families or the abandonment of old mansions they come forth from time to time with other kindred rubbish to garnish the walls of some cheap museum, where they may well find a last, abiding and congenial home.

The right to use coat armor, however derived, is not in these times a great distinction. It is the lowest form of royal recognition, and moreover it confers no honorary title. In itself it is a thing of small importance, but nevertheless it is a matter of the highest moment that whoever assumes the right to bear arms should be quite sure that they are genuine, and are not the product of an artful avarice and an unquestioning credulity.

Mr. A. C. GOODELL said that upon the application of Rev. Dr. Slafter he had searched his library in vain for a copy of the pamphlet prepared by our late lamented associate Whitmore, in aid of the movement which resulted in the order by Congress that the Committee on Ways and Means report a bill

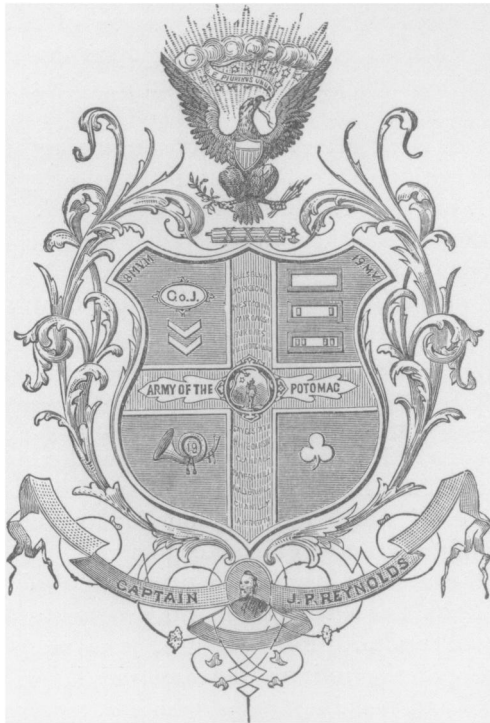
imposing a tax upon the use of heraldic escutcheons. Not until he learned of Dr. Slafter's success in finding a synopsis of the proposed bill in the fourth volume of the "Heraldic Journal," had it occurred to him that such paper had been prepared by the editor, Whitmore, although at that time Mr. Goodell was one of the Committee on Publication of that journal.

The effect of such a law would have been not only to collect a revenue from what may be considered a useless luxury, but it would eventually lead to the suppression of false pretences in a matter which has a direct bearing upon the legitimacy of the descent of families and so affords an historical clue of some importance.

In regard to Dr. Slafter's remarks concerning the difficulty of tracing the origin of coat-armor and its use by families, the antiquity of which Dr. Slafter has mentioned, Mr. Goodell called attention to another circumstance which contributes to the obscurity of the subject; and that is, that heraldic symbols, being of military origin, and often conferred on the battlefield, were, like many other military proceedings, such as the disbursement of money among the soldiery and the promotion of officers, not matters of civil cognizance and public record, as were ordinary public transactions. Nothing in historical research is more difficult and perplexing than tracing the details of the proceedings of armies and navies in active service, of which only commissioners and secretaries-of-war and adjutants had official cognizance. This exclusive control of the records or brief journals applied also to the attendants upon the sovereign in his progresses through and outside of the realm. For instance, it is more difficult to ascertain who of the retinue that escorted King James from Scotland to London did *not*, than who *did*, receive the honor of knighthood on the way. And it is common tradition that the assumption by the first Count of Anjou of a tuft or wreath of the broom (*planta genista*) gave the surname to a line of English sovereigns. It is quite as likely that this floral emblem, snatched from the turf, was first worn on the battlefield, as that it was adopted for a symbol on some other occasion. Like thousands of matters relating to military affairs, there is no established record of its origin.

Mr. Goodell called attention to the new and peculiarly

American system of what may properly be deemed heraldic emblems, devised by Captain John P. Reynolds, of Salem. By this system the display on a quartered shield of the stars, shoulder-straps, chevrons, etc., indicative of rank, and of the bugle, crossed cannon, and sabres, indicating infantry, artillery, and cavalry, together with the army badges denoting the several army corps, divisions, brigades, and regiments, all blazoned with the coats-of-arms of the Republic and of the



respective States of the Union,—and, in a parallel series, of similar badges appropriate to the navy,—he is able to produce for every officer and private in the military and naval service of the Union a perfect record by intelligible symbols; which, together with the date of enlistment and mustering out, and of every battle in which the subject was engaged, and of his death if that occurred while he was in the service, furnishes a full and exact account of his military

career readable at a glance, and not only valuable for present reference, but, as it is easy to foresee, of inestimable service to the future biographer and historian, as well as a source of pride to the descendants of the hero whose fame it perpetuates.

Mr. Goodell has obtained from Captain Reynolds a cut of the captain's own military record displayed according to the system above described. This Mr. Goodell offers as worthy of being preserved in our printed Proceedings, inasmuch as many thousands of these symbolic shields are scattered throughout the country, and, sooner or later, must become a subject of considerably greater interest than they are at present.

Mr. JOSIAH P. QUINCY communicated the following paper :

The Limits of Reliable Memory.

Not many years ago our Associate the late Edward L. Pierce contributed to the Proceedings of this Society a paper upon "Recollections as a Source of History," in which he emphasized the wholesome scepticism with which we should receive the narrations of elderly persons, especially when given long after the event. I regarded that paper as a contribution to one of the most important of all histories that are yet to be written, I mean A History of the Human Mind. It is only recently that we have begun to accumulate materials for this instructive work. The mental philosophies of the introspective school have been put aside, and the effort is now being made, through careful experiment and by legitimate induction, to provide us with that self-knowledge whereof the familiar Greek precept assumes that we stand in need. When this authoritative book comes to be written, I think it will appear that we should sift all doubtful recollections — even those of elderly persons — rather than repudiate them; in other words, that the value of reminiscences to history largely depends upon the competence of their interpreter.

The Psalmist was of opinion that the small minority of each generation who pass the threescore and tenth milestone thereupon enter upon a period of labor and sorrow. We need not leave the narrow limits of this Society to point to instances where such an assertion seems wide of the mark. But there are forms of labor and sorrow seldom escaped during the eighth decade of life, — I refer to the labor of trying to push up into consciousness something we feel is stored in the

memory, and to the sorrow that comes with our inability to secure its prompt delivery. Yet I have found that there is something to be learned by observing, in its earlier stages, the disintegration of the available memory, even though this may bear an unpleasant resemblance to assisting at one's own autopsy.

I endeavored to determine, among the scattered incidents that memory preserves, what may be considered as sharply accurate, and what should be distrusted as the probable decorations of hearsay or fancy added after the event. I began by summoning up what I could remember of the festival that marked the introduction of water to Boston in 1848. There was a procession and a cavalcade, and I rode through the streets in the cavalcade, and was present at the subsequent proceedings. Upon referring to the newspapers of the day, I found that my recollections, so far as they went, were trustworthy. From this I went on to test other deposits of memory that were very different in kind, — to test them both in myself and in others. And in doing so, I reached conclusions that were entirely unexpected. But before giving them, it is well to say that I am fully awake to the peril of generalizing from an insufficient number of instances; neither do I forget the exceptions, reservations, qualifications that limit the best established proposition. I offer my conclusions as much for correction as for acceptance; they are simply a challenge to further inquiry.

I have come to believe that the accuracy of our memory of past events is likely to be in inverse ratio to their importance, — to their importance as recognized at the time by the individual. And, also, that while insignificant, scattered, and unrelated facts may be reproduced with reasonable exactness, unusual experiences — especially those which have strongly excited our emotions — are presented vaguely and with frequent misstatements. It would seem as if the subliminal mind — about which a certain school of psychology talks so freely and knows so little — occupied itself in clothing in fanciful array the more exciting incidents of life in order to make them presentable when summoned before the consciousness.

In the paper to which I have alluded, Mr. Pierce summoned the authority of Shakespeare in support of his views. In this

he did well ; for Shakespeare's knowledge of mental phenomena has been pronounced by experts to be always reliable in its reach and exactness. So I looked to see if the supreme poet had anything bearing upon my conclusion that the memory may be trusted about trifling events when other events, far more impressive in character, are strangely distorted or quite out of reach. I found that Shakespeare had been before me in noting these peculiarities.

Prospero asks his daughter to look into her past and tell him what she remembers. Whereupon the lady replies that she sees certain dim figures of women who once waited upon her. Prospero, after confirming the accuracy of this recollection, expresses surprise that his daughter has nothing to say of that subsequent voyage in the open boat which should have made a much deeper impression upon her memory.

“ But how is it
That this lives in thy mind ? What see'st thou else
In the dark backward and abysm of time ?
If thou remember'st aught, ere thou cam'st here,
How thou cam'st here, thou may'st.”

But although Miranda, “infused as with a fortitude from heaven,” had sustained the courage of her father during that perilous sea-passage, she can remember nothing about it. The insignificant circumstance is accurately reproduced, while the significant event is unavailable in memory.

I now come to the strange paradox that the incidents of our lives which excite the strongest emotion and which it would seem must remain before us in the full glare of day, are precisely those that soonest fade into twilight. In illustration I shall take another instance from Shakespeare. We are justified in reading into the great poets much that it is probable they had no distinct intention of saying. They give us a snap-shot at reality ; and by examining the plate we discover details that may not have been consciously present to the vision of the photographer.

Hamlet, after the memorable interview with the ghost of his father, is possessed with the strange fear that what he has seen and heard may become blurred and indistinct, or gradually vanish altogether. Therefore he declares that from the tables of his memory he will “wipe away all trivial fond

records, all saws of books, all forms, all pressures past," to the end that this supremely important experience may continue to present itself in all its vivid reality. But, upon reading on, we find that these "trivial fond records" of memory are precisely what did remain in their original exactness, while the momentous occurrence he has witnessed wavers fitfully and at times is nearly extinct. Hamlet can recall word for word a speech in a play that once pleased him; he can remember how a "robustious periwig-pated fellow" tore a passion to tatters, as well as his own criticism upon this abominable imitation of humanity; but the flash of that supernormal visitation, once so distinct and trustworthy, now flickers uncertainly and will presently be reduced to a mere spark. He doubts whether some tricking devil may not have deluded him; and a condition is reached in which this man who has stood face to face with a veridical ghost — and this under test conditions which a modern Psychical Society must pronounce flawless — comes to meditate upon "the undiscovered country, from whose bourn no traveller returns." And in the short speech that Hamlet writes for the player to put into his part (for some of his lines it seems not difficult to identify) we find this statement, —

"Purpose is but the slave of Memory
Of violent birth but poor validity."

I think these lines support my conclusion, that the validity of memory is in inverse ratio to the violence of its birth, — that is, to the violence of the emotions awakened by an unusual event. There is no authoritative punctuation of Shakespeare's plays; but if, by inserting a comma, we read the second line as referring to Purpose, it matters little; in the strong figure of the poet, this is but the slave of Memory, born with its birth, and changing as its records are enfeebled or exaggerated.

A modern instance may be added to what has been said. In the fourteenth volume of the Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research will be found an address by a sort of Hamlet of our own day, Professor Charles Richet. This eminent physiologist, like his prototype, has confronted the supernormal, — he has confronted it under circumstances that left nothing to be wished. In company with an eminent *savant*, he "made experiments of the most decisive kind," and these

experiments were renewed in presence of a friend of "penetrating perspicacity," and were witnessed "under the best possible conditions." Surely some pretty strong emotions must have agitated a scientist whose conceptions of the possible received so rude a shock. Having acquired "positive proof of the reality of the facts," the learned gentleman was full of purpose to proclaim what he had seen. Alas, "Purpose is but the slave of Memory," and as time went on the reflection in the mirror, at first an exact representation of experience, became blurred and clouded. Dr. Richet fell into a state of uncertainty which, he assures us, was due to no defect of observation or of evidence, but was induced by the potent pull of the habitual opinions, or the habitual prejudices, of the society that surrounded him. But if his memory has lost the vividness that would push him to decisive action, the worthy professor, still like Hamlet, will supply its place with an aphorism, — an aphorism which I think is as worth preserving as any that have been gathered from Shakespeare's play: "*Certainty does not follow on demonstration; it follows on habit.*"

When Locke enlightened his generation with the statement that our knowledge of material facts depends upon our mental sensations, he might have added the no less evident truth that these sensations are largely influenced by our ever-varying emotions. To borrow the old metaphor of the seal, when the hand trembles with agitation it cannot leave a firm impression upon the wax. Yet memory has little resemblance to the passive wax which was once the favorite comparison; it is a creative centre below the surface where the forces of attraction and repulsion may still do vigorous work. And so the accuracy of a recollection, in larger measure than we hastily suppose, depends upon its consistency with the obvious and the commonplace; it expands or contracts at the touch of our sympathies or our antipathies. The colorless incident tends to persist unchanged; but this incident may become full of color to the keener vision of the historical student.

In the communication to which allusion has been made, Mr. Pierce cited the narrations of elderly persons which not only contradicted one another, but were, it is probable, all equally remote from the fact. It is not pleasant to believe that, as the years go on, the sense of our obligation to tell the truth

becomes weaker. Veracity is the spark of spiritual vitality that should persist to the end ; I will not willingly resign it to the dominion of biological and physical change. Nor is it necessary to do so. An experience of my own has convinced me that an unveracious memory may be far removed from conscious deception. If I venture to use myself objectively, it is because, among the many things that we see obscurely, the few that are most clear pertain to our own personalities.

I once had a full hour's talk with the late Emperor of Germany, the grandfather of the present Kaiser. It happened in this way. Late one afternoon in the summer of 1851, in company with my friend Colonel Zell, I reached the hospice on St. Bernard. A short time after there arrived from the Italian side of the pass a German professor — at least that is what I took him for — who addressed us in imperfect English, and we sat down before the fire and passed the evening in easy chat. Our chance acquaintance seemed specially interested in political subjects, and asked me several questions about the situation in America that I was unable to answer. The guest left early the next morning, and after his departure the monks told us that he was the Prince of Prussia — afterwards the Emperor William — who was travelling incognito.

At the close of the Franco-Prussian war, when the newly created Emperor of Germany loomed up as the principal figure before the world, I tried hard to recover some of that conversation, and for a time was well-nigh persuaded that I could do so. I had written somewhat for periodicals, and here was a subject for a profitable magazine paper. Only after serious consideration was the conviction reached that what the future emperor had said was no longer available in memory. Certain fragments of what had passed between us were no doubt vaguely retained ; but — as I had followed with some attention the career of this historical personage — it was evident that a theory of what he might have said or ought to have said had covertly slipped into the place of his actual utterances. Imagination, below the threshold of consciousness, seemed compelled to supply the details of a situation of which a passive reflection could no longer be obtained. This experience showed me the tricks that a pseudo-memory might play upon persons of advanced age. It taught me that if the day should come when judgment, caution, self-restraint

failed in me, as they have failed in others, I might repeat, with no sense of its untruthfulness, much of my conversation with the coming Kaiser. And such a narration, although worthless to history, might not be without interest to some student of the decline and fall of that very unstable empire, the human mind.

If it is true that "memory is the basis of historical narrative," the historian should cultivate such acquaintance with its phenomena as will enable him to recognize the innumerable gradations between its exact and fallacious records. He should be competent to examine the mind, as the pathologist examines the body, for indications of weakness or disease. He must not forget that we are continually making little grafts of the new upon the old, and that these soon grow into flourishing branches which are well-nigh independent of the original stock. The mental mechanism is ever at work in the vast region below consciousness, and "the fellow in the cellarage" is too ready to extend with touches of fancy or fable the brief chronicle of what has been.

For the maxim, *Falsus in uno, falsus in omnibus*, the historian will have little use. As the manufacturer may find his chief profit in using what was once supposed to be the waste product of his mills, so history may be enriched by discovering in the waste product of doubtful narrations some little fact, at first supposed to be valueless, but which in its implications is instructive. Such petty incidents seem to lie passive in the memory unaffected by the submerged imagination which is busiest upon what is abruptly in advance of ordinary experience. To neglect them would be like a student of Oriental life who found no use for the indications of contemporary manners and thought that are embedded in the Arabian Nights because the stories of Sindbad and Aladdin overtaxed his credulity.

It has been said that there is a poet in every one of us who dies young; perhaps it would be truer to say he passes into a state of suspended animation during the bustle of active life, and revives again when the thunder of the captains and the shouting are no longer heard. It is he who weaves a web of fancy about some insignificant nucleus of fact. Finding it difficult to live up to his ideal in the present, the venerable citizen is too ready to persuade himself that he has done so in

the past. He likes to believe that he was once acting vigorously for rational ends, when it is quite as probable that he was drifting aimlessly upon the sea of events. Much of what he says comes from the dread of inferiority which increases with the burden of the years; it comes of the wish to show himself at some point superior to his questioner who is bright from the friction of active days. We should be slow to believe that this surviving remnant of his generation is consciously untruthful, and as slow to confuse him with a stringent cross-examination. Yet there is one question, not of an agitating kind, that it will be well to ask: "Are you giving me the judgment of this event that you made at the time, or the judgment that you put upon it now?" The outlook of the individual is continually changing as the forces of life mature or fail; we want the coefficients that present the fact as it is offered to us to-day. After this, the historian must be able to synthesize in some measure the odd and incongruous memories which are placed at his disposal. If he knows how to sift the sands that lie heaped in the base of the hour-glass, he is likely to find some grains of gold among them.

After a brief reference to Mr. Quincy's paper, Mr. WILLIAM W. GOODWIN spoke of a journey which he made in a carryall from Plymouth to Concord, Massachusetts, when he was three years old, and of several incidents of the journey which he had always vividly remembered. One of the incidents was his sitting on the front seat of the carryall, and throwing a windmill out of the carriage several times for the sake of having it picked up, with his grief when at last he threw it out and lost it. This had often been doubted, partly on the ground of his age, and partly because such a journey, it was said, would not have been made in a carryall at that time, when three stage-coaches ran daily from Plymouth to Boston. There is no doubt, however, that he went from Plymouth to Concord in August, 1834. Recently a stable bill of his father's for 1834 has come to light, and it has a charge of five dollars for a horse and carryall from Concord to Plymouth and back in August. This shows, moreover, that in 1834 it was cheaper to travel fifty-five miles with a hired horse and carriage than by stage-coach.

Remarks were also made during the meeting by Messrs. R. C. WINTHROP, JR., A. C. GOODELL, JAMES B. THAYER, WILLIAM EVERETT, WINSLOW WARREN, GEORGE B. CHASE, FRANCIS C. LOWELL, and the PRESIDENT.

A new serial of the Proceedings, comprising the record of the December and January meetings, was ready for delivery at this meeting.

M E M O I R
OF
PROF. EDWARDS AMASA PARK.

BY ALEXANDER McKENZIE.

IN the records of the First Church in Cambridge, Massachusetts, under the date of 1636, stand the names of Richard Parke and Mrs. Sarah Parke. In 1647 they removed to that part of the town which had retained the name of Newtowne. From them came Nathan Park, who married Ruth Bannister, and lived in Northbridge, in this State, where their son, Calvin Park, was born in 1774. He graduated at Brown University in 1797, and became a tutor in the College, and Professor of Languages, and afterwards Professor of Moral Philosophy and Metaphysics. In 1826 he was made pastor of the Evangelical Congregational Church in Stoughton, Massachusetts. He held this position until 1840, and died in Stoughton in 1847. He is described as an accomplished scholar, a good teacher, an excellent preacher. An old friend speaks of him as "a man of great sensibility" and "extreme diffidence," with "discriminating intellect, a warm heart, refined taste, and extensive literary and theological attainments." His wife was Abigail Ware, a descendant of Robert Ware of Wrentham, England, who came to this country and settled at Wrentham in this State in 1640. Calvin and Abigail Park had three children, — sons, graduates of Brown University, and Congregational clergymen. The second of these sons was the subject of this memoir. He was born in Providence, Rhode Island, December 29, 1808. It is some indication of the feeling and opinion of his parents, and a slight prophecy of his own career, that he was named for Jonathan Edwards, who had died fifty years before.

Edwards Park was well born, and of the New England aristocracy. As the son of a college professor he lived in a



Edwards A. Park,

literary atmosphere, surrounded by books and acquainted with scholars, so that his own intellectual powers were quickened and directed. There was nothing to make it certain that he would become eminent as a scholar and teacher; but it is easy to trace his life back to its sources, and to see the presage of his greatness. He began to learn when he began to live. The father was a teacher by his calling. The mother was a woman of strong character, quiet, dignified, earnest in all her thoughts, fond of poetry, and delighting in good hymns, and with an admirable discretion in affairs. It was a good home in which to live and breathe, and to grow up and be brought up.

The boy was sent to school at a time so early that afterwards he did not remember the event. He was not robust, but he was in good health, and was able to join other boys in the sports of the time, and he became a leader in the games. He was even restrained in this disposition by parental desire. It is suspected that there was a mischievous element in his character. He recalled the severe rebuke of a teacher in this wise: "Edwards, you don't do as much mischief as the other boys, but you seem to enjoy their mischief more than they do." This disposition was never lost. He was always interested in men and their methods, their plotting and counter-plotting, their ingenious devices and the ways in which these were worked out. Sometimes he would have been not unwilling to call the things "mischief." His wit and humor evidently were born with him.

The thought of that time was serious. The gravest themes were domiciled in a minister's house, and a bright boy was sure to become familiar with them. There was less variety in life than there is now; it is doubtful if there was less satisfaction. Thought was deeper and ran on fewer lines. It often seems to us narrow in comparison with the present. But the cubic contents of a year were probably more than they are in our hurried days. Even the objects which seem to us heavy and dull had a real interest, and engaged the powers of the mind and the heart. Questions were asked which were not answered; but the time since has not answered them, and it was something to consider them and to rise into the higher realms of thought and to move in them freely. It is not hard to imagine the true pleasure of this boy, being

the boy he was, in asking and answering questions, — about the sovereignty of God and his decrees and purposes ; about the will of man and its conditions, and all the meaning and mystery of life. It was not all thought. There were activities, the reaching out of sympathy and desire : large plans for the enlightening and saving of the world. Very little of good is seen in our own day which cannot be traced back to those days and the earlier times. Schools, colleges, churches, missions, charities, were known then. We may have more efficient methods, but it would be difficult to find any deeper principles or more worthy motives, or a more vital law of sacrifice and ministry. It is possible that there was less cheerfulness than we possess, though this is by no means certain. It is probable that, on the whole, life was easier than now. There is not much use in comparison, but we ought to do justice to the men and times which have given us our heritage. It may be too early to judge whether their methods or ours are the more steady, permanent, and productive of the deeper virtue or the greater good.

There were not so many books then, and books were less attractive. Many things which now are held essential to a happy life were not then invented. But virtue and intelligence were known. Boys and girls played, and men and women found pleasant places. Life then was not so monotonous and dreary as it seems to us who look back upon it. "Edwards on the Affections" and Doddridge on "The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul" are not exhilarating reading ; but it was a fine discipline to go through them. "Law's Serious Call" has been more praised than almost any other religious book in the language, and the "Pilgrim's Progress" will be read when the bulk of modern literature is neglected. There were good books, and interesting books, even in those primeval days, and this boy could reach them. It seems hard now to think of him poring over Robertson's "History of America," and such enlivening memoirs as the life of Brainerd, and Edwards. The boy was ten years old when he first saw Nathaniel Emmons, to be impressed by his greatness ; and Emmons's Sermons were read with this personal interest, — substantial books, heavy with logic and order, which might be studied by the modern preacher with advantage to his solidity and lucidity. He had a working knowl-

edge of Calvinism when he was ten years old, and passed a creditable examination in the system. It bore heavily upon a nature so sensitive, which should not have been subjected to it. Probably no one thought how severe its working would be in the mind of a thoughtful child, to whom every sentence was with authority. He could not tell when his interest in religious belief and life began. It was with him from his earliest childhood and grew with his growth. It was a natural interest and was fostered by the surroundings in which he lived. In many lives then, much more frequently than now, there was a crisis, a passing out from darkness and fear into joy and light. But he recalled nothing of this kind in his own experience. He did look upon his character as "a cellar" "full of all sorts of rubbish," and at one time he did question whether he was one of "the elect." But he moved on steadily with the assurance and force which were to control his years. He was ready in his youth to defend the doctrines in which he had been instructed, and he had an interest in the new missionary work at the Sandwich Islands and in other parts of the world. He entered Brown University, where his father was then a professor, in 1822, before he was fourteen years old, the youngest member of his class. He was fond of Latin and Greek, but had no special delight in mathematics. His favorite studies were metaphysics and logic. Of the books which he especially enjoyed mention is made of Dugald Stewart's "Mental Philosophy," Campbell's "Rhetoric," Lord Kames' "Elements of Criticism." He took high rank as a scholar, but he was very bashful, and made his recitations and declamations in much fear; yet he bore his part in the literary and theological societies to which he belonged. He greatly enjoyed the eminent preachers who came to Providence, and the arguments of the great lawyers whom he occasionally heard. At his graduation the valedictory oration was assigned to him; but he declined to accept the appointment, partly because he felt he had been unjustly used by the President at a former time, and in part because of the expense which was involved. He graduated in 1826. While in college, in the long winter vacations, he had taught school, and after he graduated he taught in the classical schools of Braintree and Weymouth Landing. But his work in college and in school told upon his strength, and it was feared

that he was to die in his youth. For a few months he attended medical lectures in New York, with the thought that he might become a physician. At one time he was inclined to the legal profession. But his thought was more steadily and naturally directed to the ministry. He questioned whether he was fit for either of the professional callings. He liked ministers and the ministry, and when he examined the different professions by the process of exclusion, he found that the ministry was at last all that was left to him. He stated his position in this way: "If I could not preach honestly, I could not do anything honestly. If I could do anything honestly, I could preach honestly." Then he proceeded to a careful examination of himself, with regard to the doctrines which he was to preach if he became a minister. "After putting himself to the severest tests of which he could think, he came to the steady and strong conviction that he did not only believe these doctrines, but love them, even those which are accounted severest of all. Then the way seemed open to him to preach what he believed and honored." He was then the master of a school, and at once he proceeded to give activity to his religious life. He began to have public prayer in his school, and to instruct his pupils in religious belief and duty, and to persuade them to enter upon a Christian life. After his school closed he studied theology for a year at his father's house in Stoughton. He gave much study to Dr. Samuel Clarke's Lectures on "The Being and Attributes of God," a work famous in its time. He examined with care the writings of the Unitarian Controversy, which were attracting great attention, and he wrote his earliest theological article upon the matters involved for the "Spirit of the Pilgrims." In 1828, though in feeble health, he entered the Theological Seminary at Andover. The Seminary was very strong in its faculty and its students, and in its position among the churches and in the theological world. Leonard Woods was in the Theological Chair. Moses Stuart was Professor of Sacred Literature, and for a time Edward Robinson was associated with him. Ebenezer Porter was President, and Professor of Sacred Rhetoric. There were among the students during Park's course many men who came to be conspicuous as teachers and preachers. It was a noble society into which this young man of twenty entered, with his training, ability,

ardor, devotion. The place itself was well chosen, — the pleasant town on the hill-top, with its bracing air, its magnificent views, its scholarly atmosphere, the associations which had been forming for twenty years; the quiet and serenity, the still enthusiasm, the deep, intense life of men. Park was born in the year in which the Seminary was opened, and they came together when they were entering upon the estate of manhood. The life of the Institution was quick. The students were eager in their studies, and thought was stimulated from every direction. The students engaged in religious work in the town, and were in correspondence with other seminaries, and with colleges, and with missionaries at home and abroad. They were in contact with the churches and their best work, to which they were themselves committed. Their numbers increased their zeal, but their interest was personal and constant. Young Park was hindered in his work by his impaired health, but he was diligent, and was regarded as a man of large promise. His remarkable power was felt, even then. He grew in his knowledge of the things to which his life was given, and went beyond the course of instruction with his own studies in metaphysics and literature. He sought to be fully furnished for his appointed work. He graduated in 1831. While yet in the Seminary he was invited to become Professor of Biblical Literature in the Theological Seminary at Bangor, Maine; and also to become the pastor of the Pine Street Church in Boston, and of a church in Lowell. These proposals he declined. He had his own plan, which was to be the minister of a country parish for a few years, and then to take a professorship, if one were offered to him, in a college or seminary. This was more in the usual course of things than it would be now; for it was then the custom to take professors from the pastorate in which they had made proof of their learning and ability. At that time the church in Braintree needed a minister. The Rev. Richard Salter Storrs, the first of that illustrious name, had withdrawn from the active duties of the pastorate there, that he might promote home missionary work, and he desired that this promising young man should be associated with him in the parish ministry. The position was attractive and in agreement with his plans, and Mr. Park was ordained on the 21st of December, 1831. The son of the old minister was reading in the par-

sonage one Saturday afternoon when the coach from Boston stopped at the door and a young man came up the gravel walk and into the house. "The boy was struck with his slight, tall form, his chiselled features, fine then as if wrought in marble, his piercing eyes, and his impressive and animating voice." A friendship began that day which through many and long years never faltered or failed.

It was a good New England congregation over which the young man was placed. It was made up largely of farmers and mechanics, and these with their families were an intelligent and thoughtful assembly, well informed upon public affairs and accustomed to discussion upon religious questions. It was not a scholastic congregation, and might be thought lacking in an appreciation of scholarly teaching. But they had been well instructed, and were prepared to receive whatever the young preacher had the right to give to those who sought his counsel. At that time the churches around Braintree were very earnest in their work, and the appeals to a simple religious life were unusually effective. It was a most hopeful and helpful condition of things into which this preacher carried his first impulses and efforts. He was quite sure to be incited to his best work, and to be steadied and supported by the knowledge that his highest faithfulness would be rewarded. He preached constantly, on Sundays and week days, in the meeting-house and in country school-houses, writing for several months only two sermons, but throwing himself into his ministry with a genuine force which produced lasting results. From time to time he gave a sermon to which he had devoted an unusual amount of time and study, upon some one of the larger themes, thus preserving his own studious habits and giving to his hearers the best he could produce. But always he did his best for the time which was before him. He chose the morning hours for his systematic study, but he was constantly studying and observing. He was quick to learn from the men whom he met and the events around him. Whatever he learned he knew how to use. It was a life with very little waste. The people heard him with profound attention, and came from neighboring towns, attracted by his fame for brilliancy and eloquence. This was a fine school for this young man. He was not to continue in it. After less than two years of service, with

failing sight and impaired health, he resigned the position, and in a journey long for those times sought to gain strength. Very soon different and most honorable positions were offered him, for he had reputation as a preacher and a scholar. He was not allowed to be in haste. But in the spring of 1835 he became Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy in Amherst College and an Instructor in Hebrew. He taught Rhetoric, also, and lectured on the Epistle to the Romans, and preached in many churches which delighted to hear him. One who well knew his work has written that "the influence of the Professor pervaded the College, almost dominated it, in fact, such was the general enthusiasm for him, and so vivid and deep was the impression of his sermons."

Men "listened to his discourses with fascinated interest, with admiring astonishment, and with the sense of a certain surpassing and inscrutable power, never effaced. They felt the urgency of his incessant enthusiasm for study." He was not to remain at Amherst. In 1836 he was called to the Theological Seminary at Andover, as the Bartlet Professor of Sacred Rhetoric. In the same year he was married to Miss Anna Maria Edwards, a great-granddaughter of Jonathan Edwards. Then began a married life of singular felicity and helpfulness.

It must have been a pleasure to Professor Park to return to Andover, and to be a teacher where he had been a student. He came at the urgent request of Professor Woods, who filled the highest chair in the Seminary. He knew the men with whom he was to be associated, and they knew him. The fitness of things had been regarded. He was to instruct young men who were already advanced in their studies and their mental discipline, and who were to go out as preachers to carry his influence abroad. It was a difficult time, and the generous rivalry among the theological schools of the country was seriously felt at Andover. This young man was to advance the real and the comparative influence of the Seminary. In the following year, 1837, another young man, Bela Bates Edwards, came to Andover, as Professor of the Hebrew Language and Literature. They had been students together, and were to be most closely associated in their work for the Seminary, and in all the interests of sacred learning. They brought in young life when it was needed and welcome.

Professor Park gave himself with his full energy to his work. He was superbly furnished for it. Indeed, to the end of his teaching, through all his course as a teacher of Theology, his instruction in Rhetoric was no small part of the benefit which his students received from him. One of his later students has been heard to say that the homiletical teaching was of as great value as the theological teaching, large as this was. One of his earlier students, whose oratory has been unsurpassed, has given this testimony: "His lectures in my time were simply marvellous in their exhibition of all the elements which go to constitute pulpit eloquence. He seemed to have read everything, to have remembered all that he had read, to be perfectly familiar with the greatest orators and preachers in their greatest works, and to be wholly determined to make each one of the class before him, if not as great a preacher as Chalmers, as great an orator as Webster or Choate, as great in that direction as his faculty would permit." The preparation of sermons was regarded as one of the highest works in which a man could engage. Pulpit eloquence became "the noblest of the fine arts." Its themes were high and broad beyond all comparison, and their end was the greatest which could be conceived. His teaching was not in narrow limits. He met his students for the study of the great writers, the great poets, the great preachers. The plays of Shakespeare were studied critically, the thought, the words, the sentences, and all was made of living interest. "To see the play on the theatre boards would have been only dull in comparison." Nor was this the whole. For he was himself the preacher, in the Chapel of the Seminary and in many churches. His students could hear him, could see him, when he was engaged in the work for which he was instructing them. His speaking, reading, praying; his manner, dignified and strong; the tones of his voice, his earnest sincerity and desire, beyond their immediate spiritual influence, were a living object lesson. The young preacher might not resolve to equal his master, but he could receive suggestions which would be useful on the lower plane. His sermons were carefully planned; every sentence, each word, had his pains. He made the discourse complete in itself, and it readily drew attention and admiration. Of his sermons a great preacher has written: "It is impossible to surpass the truth in out-

lining the power and splendor of their influence as illustrating, emphasizing, and bringing to fruition all the work performed by the preacher in his department of Sacred Rhetoric." For eleven years Professor Park held this chair. Then he was transferred to the position in which his greatest work was to be done. In 1847 he was made the Abbot Professor of Christian Theology. There was no higher position in which he could be placed, and there, for thirty-four years, he was the teacher of teachers in this exalted domain of thought and life.

The Seminary at Andover was founded for the educating of men for the ministry of Congregational churches. It was to uphold and inculcate the polity and doctrine of these churches, though men from other churches might come to it, and men might go from it to whatever service they preferred. The Seminary was chartered in 1807 and opened in 1808. Leonard Woods was appointed the Abbot Professor of Christian Theology, and he held this position until 1846. The Seminary was constituted by the union of two projects, — one for an institution at Andover which should in a general way represent the old Calvinism, and one for a Seminary at West Newbury which should stand for Calvinism as modified by the teachings of Hopkins and others.

The two plans may be described in the terms used by Professor Park himself fifty years later: "One of these parties intended to found an Institution for training thorough, direct, plain, pungent, argumentative, doctrinal preachers, and for maintaining that definite and strict form of Calvinism which is commonly named Hopkinsian. The other party intended to found an Institution 'for increasing the number of learned and able defenders of the gospel of Christ, as well as of orthodox, pious, and zealous ministers of the New Testament,' and for inculcating that milder form of Calvinism which united in its defence such men as President Stiles of New Haven, Dr. Hopkins of Hadley, Dr. Lathrop of West Springfield, and Dr. Tappan of Cambridge, — men regarded at that time as representatives of those New England Congregationalists who repudiated the Hopkinsian peculiarities and yet retained the substance of the Calvinistic creed." These descriptions seem to indicate with which party Professor Park was most in sympathy. The two plans were brought together, but with

such safeguards as were thought to secure the interests of both parties. By an elaborate statement of belief, by a system of visitors in addition to the trustees, it was thought that Orthodoxy was well defended, and prudent provision made for instruction in its tenets. Leonard Woods had been for ten years the minister of the church in Newbury. He was a Hopkinsian, as was Dr. Samuel Spring, of Newburyport, who was the projector of the plan for the Newbury Seminary. This is not the place for a description of the theological beliefs which were then under discussion. Many of the questions involved in them have ceased to be of large interest, but they were very real in their time, and strong men put their wisdom and energy into the framing of systems and modifying them to meet the variant views. Hopkinsianism, which means very little now, was a large word once. The Newport minister interests us more by reason of his early efforts against slavery and in favor of the colonization of the negroes. But he was a theologian of learning and force, honest and independent. He was a patient student of the writings of Edwards, and his own teachings were based upon them. His system was virtually Calvinistic, but it was modified by his friends, and received his name. His adherents were also called "Consistent Calvinists," "as against the Moderate Calvinists," with whom they joined in setting up the Seminary at Andover. With modifications this system was largely taken into the "New England Theology," with which the Seminary was identified under Professor Park's administration, and of which he himself said, "Its primary and single aim has been to exalt God as a sovereign, and to glorify the eternal plan on which He governs the universe."

Leonard Woods graduated at Harvard College in 1796, and with the highest honors. His oration at that time, and when he took his Master's degree, are both published. The title of the former was: "Envy Wishes, then Believes"; and of the second, "A Contrast between the Effects of Religion and the Effects of Atheism." He studied theology under the direction of an older minister, as was common at that time, and also privately in his own home. By reason of his learning and ability he was placed in the most important position in the new Seminary, when he was thirty-four years old. He was a strong man physically and mentally. The range of his studies

would not be very wide for these times, but it was liberal then. "The structure of his mind was solid rather than showy, and its beauty was the result of the just balance of its powers, as its force was of the wise direction and unity of its efforts." It is said that he was disinclined to controversy. If this was true, he deserves credit for the heroism shown in his frequent polemic writings. "He was a champion of Orthodox Calvinism," and has been styled "emphatically the 'judicious' divine of later New England theology." He had a prominent part in founding and directing the great religious agencies whose work was to be felt in the country and through the world. He taught in the Seminary for thirty-eight years, and in the eight years which followed was engaged in publishing his lectures and other writings. Of course the influence of Professor Woods was widely extended. He had a large field and he was equal to its demands. With much wisdom and discretion he gave the instruction which was expected, and in a way to give satisfaction to those who had united their interests in the Seminary. He was patient, faithful, thoughtful, and well informed. If his teaching was at times rather arid and without humor, it served well the purpose to which it was committed.

This was the man into whose place and labors Professor Park entered in 1847. He had been lecturing in the theological department in the preceding year, at the request of Professor Woods, who was preparing to resign his office, and who knew the man whom he made his associate, who was to be his successor. We see the younger man through the eyes of the older. For ten years they had been together in the Faculty. The younger man's spirit and his teaching were well known. Professor Woods had heard five courses of elaborate sermons, thirty in all, upon the supreme matters of belief and life, in which the principles of the younger professor were carefully stated and defended. In all matters of writing, speaking, illustrating, the two men were far apart. The older man might well have considered carefully the fitness of his colleague for the chief place in the Seminary, and so in the church. It is a somewhat extraordinary testimony to the character and power of the younger that the elder was prepared to give over to him his work and the interests of the Institution. Professor Park had come steadily

on to his place. He brought with him all that he had acquired, and stood in his full manhood, amply furnished for the service which was demanded of him.

It is not necessary to make a detailed comparison of his theological views with those of his predecessor. There could be no considerable difference between them, seeing that both men were held by the same constitution and creed, and moreover were in the service of the same churches. It is hardly possible that any two men of thought will think exactly alike, or express their opinions in the same terms. What could be done to preserve uniformity of teaching had been done at Andover, and the visitors were pledged to see that this was maintained. The Andover Creed is public property. It will be worth while to see in what way Professor Park regarded it. There had been changes in theological thought and statement since the creed was framed. The old theology had been assailed and with effect, especially in behalf of personal liberty and responsibility, which Calvinism was thought not fairly to recognize. Professor Park did not assent to all the views of the New Haven school, which had led the way in this effort at reform, but he fully accepted the principle of freedom, whatever was involved in it. He did more than this, by claiming that the masters of the old divinity, Edwards and others, had held the same truth. His mind was eager, his eyes were turned in every direction, he was familiar with theological scholars in this country and in Germany, but he held fast to the fundamental teaching which he had accepted. A competent critic has said of him that "with all his wide knowledge of foreign writers and his unresting curiosity, his eclecticism went no farther than to illustrate and, in manifold ways, to enrich his own productions from them. It did not avail to carry him, in the construction of his system, beyond the confines of the New England school." If great skill was required, and at times considerable ingenuity, in adapting the newer forms of belief and statement, and adjusting them to his structure, this ability was not wanting. His system of theology gives evidence in its whole extent of much thinking, intense labor, patient and painstaking from the beginning to the end.

We are able to see in what way Professor Park regarded the subscription to the Seminary Creed. After his retirement

from his professorship, in the controversy which arose upon the matter of subscription, Professor Park gave his views to the public in a pamphlet entitled "The Associate Creed of Andover Theological Seminary." He asserted his qualifications for the task to which he was called in impressive words, and in his own persuasive manner: "I have been permitted, in the providence of God, to converse with men who were active in laying the foundations of the Seminary, and to read many private documents written by them. I must be called from the world soon: I may be called suddenly. I am bound to state what I have learned from the fathers and founders of the Seminary, and to let their words and deeds answer the questions which are now asked." He then proceeded to state four of the "several doctrines for the maintenance of which, in a special degree, the Andover Seminary was founded." The statement expressed, of course, his own belief as made known in his teaching. The first of these doctrines was that "The Bible, in all its religious and moral teachings, is entirely trustworthy." The second, that "All the moral actions of every man, before he is converted by the Divine Spirit, are opposed to the divine law, and are sinful." The third was the doctrine of the atonement, concerning which he writes: "The crucifixion of the Lamb of God, and the sufferings preparatory to it, and implied in it, are the sole and exclusive ground on which the penitent are saved; and therefore the grace of Christ, as manifested in his sacrificial pains, is the brightest of all his glories." The fourth was that "The present life is the only state of probation; the future life is a state, not of probation, but of punishment; the punishment of incorrigible transgressors begins as soon as they die, and continues forever." He adds: "From the beginning, the friends of Andover Seminary have understood that it was instituted, in large measure, for the very purpose of maintaining strict views of the divine justice and law, the extent and intrinsic evil of sin, the fact that in this world every person who CAN transgress the law has a 'fair chance' for avoiding both the transgression and its punishment." Herein is the substance of Professor Park's belief and teaching in the domain of theology, so far as these characteristic doctrines are concerned. In regard to the being and nature of God, the creed was content to repeat the words of the Westminster Catechism.

Professor Park emphasized his conviction of the meaning of subscription and of the obligations attached to it by writing that, "Unless there be positive evidence that the founders of the Seminary regarded some one doctrine of their Creed as too unimportant to be insisted on, there is conclusive evidence that they required their professors to teach every doctrine specified in their Creed."

The statement is clear and is readily assented to. But its application is not so simple as it would appear to be in the reading. For the creed is in words, and words have room in them. They are to be defined and balanced. Their relations and proportionate importance are to be regarded; their history and their connection with the times when they were written, and with other statements of their authors, and their place in the religious thought and life of the times in which they are to be used, must be considered. The intention must be intelligent and honest. But it may very well be, it is quite certain to be, that men will differ in their estimate of the precise significance and the importance of the sentences to which they consent. It is at least doubtful whether any man, or any body of men, can make an extensive and particular statement of opinions in the terms and combination of terms which others would accept as expressing exactly their own views, with all the meaning and shades of meaning and proportions of meaning which they would approve as accurate and sufficient. Any statement, therefore, which is to have the assent of several men, especially if the assent is to be given at widely separated times, must have breadth. This was well expressed by Professor Shedd in his inaugural address at Andover, when he said that truth was not a line, but a road on which good men could walk abreast. A permanent creed must have "its historic sense."

The writers of the creed provided for this in some measure, when they wrote near the end of their statement of belief and in connection with it, "I do solemnly promise that I will open and explain the Scriptures to my pupils with integrity and faithfulness; that I will maintain and inculcate the Christian faith, as expressed in the Creed by me now repeated, together with all the other doctrines and duties of our Holy Religion, so far as may appertain to my office, according to the best light God shall give me." It was in this spirit, it

could be in no other, that Professor Park wrote his name under the creed, and continued at stated times to write it during his long tenure of office.

With his mental activity and independence and continued study, it was probable that some who were watching him with interest would come to feel that he was straying from the way of his predecessors, and thus from the way of the founders of the Seminary. So far as there was truth in this, it was no reflection upon his integrity, but the recognition of a necessary liberty. His allegiance was ample and intelligent. It was his full purpose to keep faith with those who had made his work possible, and in doing this to be loyal to the truth, and to be faithful in receiving and transmitting it in the light which was given him. It would be fruitless now to recall the discussion which his teaching created. It was inevitable that it should come, and whoever wishes to retrace it can do so without extraordinary effort. There is no need to add here to the literature of the subject. Any one who knew Professor Woods and Professor Park, and understood their temper of mind and habit of thought, would know perfectly well that they could not think or speak in the same terms or the same tones. Their position made this certain, if there could be any doubt regarding it. The one was of the past. His personal work was done and he wished it to abide. The other looked forward, with his life before him, and a laudable ambition to do a work which should be his own, and for which he saw room. Neither of them intended to part from the opinions which had been established. But they could not state these opinions in the same words, with the same proportions, and the same philosophical method. With the younger man stability was not the only thing to be considered, but improvement and extension. New definitions and explanations were to carry forward the truths to which both men were committed by the obligations of their office. I do not know that either made a formal statement of his views as against the views of the other. Had they done this, the ordinary reader would probably see little difference beyond the natural difference in the men. In the domain of psychology which lay behind the two systems of thought Professor Park was the more precise and discriminating. In the profound questions of the Divine purposes, and of human character and

responsibility, he held his own beliefs and preferred to make his own statements. He did this with a wide knowledge of all which had been written and with a high regard for the work of the leaders of theological thought whom he honored in the advancement of their teaching. I do not think that there was more questioning of his teaching than would belong in any such transition as this department at Andover was then passing through. Nor was the Seminary disturbed by the discussion. The work went on, gathering force from year to year, and the newer method held the ground which it had taken. The classes were large, the teaching was vigorous, and the students were eager in their work. It was a time of large prosperity.

It was not alone in that which was taught that Professor Park was strong. His personality gave force to his words. This was vigorous, persuasive. He set himself into his sentences. But beyond this, his method of teaching was his own and was most effective. His power of analysis and definition was remarkable. One must have been a dull scholar who did not understand him. He stated his proposition and repeated it. If it was of special importance or difficulty, he said it a third time, and not unfrequently a fourth time. The student wrote in his note-book the very words of his teacher, which he could study at his leisure. Then followed divisions and subdivisions, and even minor divisions. They stood in order, each in its place. They were explained and illustrated. Often a story, and perhaps a witty story, would make the meaning clear. Illustrations were commonly taken from things near at hand and familiar. The incidents of the day were put under tribute. Anything which had attracted notice was made to do duty as argument. For the best men among the students this elaboration was carried to excess. When they had apprehended a point, they preferred to advance. But the teacher knew that there were those before him who were not quick to learn, and perhaps some who had the fatal gift of misunderstanding. For their benefit he sometimes wearied others and himself. But it was rare training for those who were to be preachers. He kept in the life of his time, even when he appeared to be withdrawn from it. He did not rely unduly upon his past. He did not write out his lectures and content himself with reading from his multitudinous pages. Each lecture

was a new study, made for the occasion, and he came to his class in full and fresh vigor. He did not show his learning and skill more liberally than when he was questioned by his class. He was strongly patient, even when the questions betrayed slowness of apprehension or were apart from his immediate theme. He probably enjoyed this, and had some amusement at the recurrence of inquiries which annually presented themselves. Very rarely, if ever, did any irritation appear. I recall but one instance in which he paid no regard to a question from a student, and then he was abundantly justified.

The attitude of the Professor towards his scholars was friendly and helpful. Of course he wanted them to adopt his system as their belief. While he regretted that there were some who could not do this, he must have known that, in their independent thinking, they were following his method, even if it led them to different results. The dissent of strong men could not have been agreeable; while there was a satisfaction in knowing that such men were under his influence, although this was restricted. He could trust to time and later thought. But the freedom itself surely had its charm for a mind like his. He had little of which to complain, for his teaching became the theology of the greater part of his students, and by them went through New England, and beyond, and over the world. Its effect was marked, and is now evident in the thinking of men.

To those who came closer to him he was a delightful companion. A walk with him up and down Andover Hill was more than a pleasure, and was perhaps as serviceable to him as to the men who walked with him. He could draw from all sources, and acquaint himself with man by knowing men. His commerce was with thought, and even crude, immature thought was not without its suggestions. He had a large fund of interesting stories, which he liked to tell, and he was a good listener to the tales of others, and found relief in the amusement and diversion they offered him.

His old pupils are always glad to give assurance of their respect for him and their indebtedness to him. Men who have done large service in the world have been ready to trace their work back to his instruction. A few sentences which they have written may fittingly be copied here: "It was your

signal gift and rich endowment to be such a teacher as to command the unbounded devotion of your pupils." "I have not found that recent authors have developed any elements of doctrine of unquestioned worth beyond the range of thought to which we were introduced in our Andover days." "But even the lectures do not appeal to my recollection with so potent a charm as does the memory of interviews with you under your own roof, and of the many delightful walks which, through your kindness, we took together on the hills and along the banks of the river." Not alone towards his scholars, but in his relations to his neighbors and his many other friends, he was generous and courteous; a pleasant companion, a delightful guest. He was a scholar and teacher, and in all a theologian, with his opinions deliberately formed, and his system fashioned with utmost care. He was naturally regarded as "a predetermined champion" for his own views, and "an expert and trained gladiator in fields of controversy." "His mind was critical, speculative, rather than specially sympathetic, and was never careless or indolent in the scrutiny of statements or in observation of trends of thought." The writer of these words was able to add that although they had at times differed sharply, he could "bear an unimpeachable witness to the sincerity and the generous sweetness of his continuing personal friendship." Of his personal religious feeling not much more is known than can be gathered from his written words. He said little of himself, and of his emotions and experiences. His thoughts were deep, but they were kept in his own breast, except as they revealed themselves in his teaching. "He was essentially an unworldly man, habitually communing with greatest themes; always scrupulous, and sometimes ascetic, in personal habit; with an absolute concentration of mind on his great office for God in the world." From his purpose he never swerved. Under great physical disability he fulfilled his magnificent design, in much labor and much suffering, but with a steady contentment and the satisfaction which attends good work faithfully done.

Any sketch of his life must be chiefly concerned with his work as a Professor of Theology. That was his life. But he was more than a professor. Perhaps it is better to say that he extended his professorship, and without leaving it

broadened his work. He was an eminent preacher. It was an event in the Andover world when he stood in the Chapel pulpit. He was ready to preach to a small congregation in the neighborhood, and he was invited to more conspicuous churches. He gave his best. His presence was commanding. His face declared his earnestness. The intensity of his thought was revealed in the tones of his voice. Every motion was with the vigor of a man absorbed in his message. With all his learning, with his natural eloquence, his superb rhetoric, his inspired imagination, he poured out his thoughts upon great themes, and his hearers were borne away upon the stream. His sermons were like the man, in every thought and tone. Some of them were notably marked by their originality of conception and construction, and are still widely known by name. One of his most striking sermons was preached in 1850 before the Massachusetts Convention of Congregational Ministers upon "The Theology of the Intellect and that of the Feelings," in which he expressed the belief that "the intellect will yet be enlarged so as to gather up all the discordant representations of the heart and employ them." He had strong confidence in the power of Truth well told. "Raise me but a barn in the very shadow of St. Paul's Cathedral, and with the conscience-reaching powers of a Whitefield I will throng that barn with a multitude of eager listeners, while the matins and the vespers of the Cathedral shall be chanted to the statues of the mighty dead."

The published writings of Professor Park are in themselves enough for fame, in their extent and character. They were in close alliance with his daily work. He claimed as an excellence of his system that it could be preached, and this he proved. In this connection he published a volume of Sermons presenting and illustrating his teaching. He published sixteen pamphlets, including memorials of Professors Moses Stuart and Bela B. Edwards, President Leonard Woods of Bowdoin College, Rev. Richard S. Storrs, D.D., of Braintree. In 1844, with Professor B. B. Edwards he founded the "Bibliotheca Sacra," of which he was the chief editor from 1851 to 1884. This quarterly was a treasure-house of literary and theological writing, much of which was from his own pen. He wrote for other publications. He wrote four biographies, — of Rev. William B. Homer, Professor B. B. Edwards, Rev. Dr. Samuel

Hopkins, Rev. Dr. Nathaniel Emmons. In 1860 he edited, with an Introductory Essay, a work on *The Atonement*, with discourses and treatises by eminent Divines. With Professor Austin Phelps and Dr. Lowell Mason, in 1858, he compiled and edited "*The Sabbath Hymn Book*," which was extensively used in the churches. In 1839 he was one of the editors and translators of "*Selections from German Literature*." These are but a portion of his writings, but they suggest his industry and the variety of his thought.

There was variety in his reading. Naturally books on theology and philosophy were of the first importance. But he was interested in the memoirs of interesting men. He liked to read good sermons. General literature had a share of his time, though he did not care for fiction. He read the best poetry and was influenced by it. One who had the right to give an opinion has said that "passages of charming literary beauty appear more frequently in his writings than in those of any New England preacher since the days of Channing." He enlarged his knowledge by travel. In 1842-43 he spent sixteen months in Switzerland and Germany, and nearly the same time in Germany in 1863-64. In 1869-70, for about the same length of time he was in England, Italy, Egypt, Palestine, and Greece. He had friends and companions among European scholars, especially the theological writers of Germany. He drew from all quarters whatever would increase his knowledge and give him power for the work to which his life was devoted.

Here was the great career of a great man. It was a large life, and in all its dimensions, — a cubic character. In 1881 he resigned his position as Professor of Theology. He was not old, but he was in his seventy-third year, and his infirmities made his further teaching difficult and uncertain. Besides this, there was a desire to have his *System of Theology* prepared for publication. This, with such incidental work as he wished to do, would require all his strength and time. How far he advanced in the preparation of his system is not known. It was a very serious task and needed careful planning and much hard work, which only he could give. His volume of "*Discourses on some Theological Doctrines as related to the Religious Character*" was connected with the larger work. In further connection with it was the *Memoir*

of Jonathan Edwards upon which he was engaged. There was abundant, even excessive work for him. His last years were passed in the house in which he had long lived. The light in the house had failed in the death of the admirable woman who for fifty-seven years had brightened it. But it was still his home, hallowed with all which devoted filial care could give him. For the most part his days were quiet. A few friends saw him occasionally, and found him with his vigor tempered by time, but his mind bright and alert, and his conversation interesting and witty as of old. In the discussion which attended what came to be known as "The New Departure" he had a proper concern. He saw his own work to some degree imperilled, and when he was not able to defend it as he would have done a few years earlier. He was not often seen or heard upon the field where the debate went on. But he was where he could give his counsel, and, as has already been stated, he published a pamphlet upon the Creed of the Seminary. He also published a letter upon "Current Religious Perils." After the discussion was over, the Seminary went on with its work, and in the retirement of his home he carried his own work forward according to his strength. When he had completed his ninetieth year, many friends greeted him with more than a hundred letters, full of respect and gratitude; and a "loving cup" crowned with ninety roses was presented to him. He said that his pupils had overestimated his usefulness to them, but he was gratified by their affectionate remembrance. The close came on the fourth day of June, 1900. Four days later the funeral services were held in the Seminary Chapel. A memorial address, written by his life-long friend, Dr. Richard Salter Storrs, of Brooklyn, was read. For the writer himself, with the interval of a day, had followed his friend into "the excellent glory." The service was simple, as he would have had it, with Scripture and prayer and sacred song; and the form of the man who was so long the honor and delight of the Hill was carried to its rest among the men who had stood with him in the grandeur of noble lives.

MEMOIR

OF

WILLIAM WHITWELL GREENOUGH.

BY BARRETT WENDELL.

WILLIAM WHITWELL GREENOUGH, only child of William and Sarah (Gardner) Greenough, was born in Boston on the 25th of June, 1818. His father, a merchant, was a son of the Rev. William Greenough, for many years minister of Newton, and traced his descent through Deacon Thomas Greenough, a considerable citizen of Boston during the years preceding the Revolution, and through Captain John Greenough, who in 1726 commanded the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, from Captain William Greenough, the emigrant, who is said to have resided at the North End of Boston before 1660, and whose death and burial are recorded in Sewall's Diary for the 6th of August, 1693. Sarah Gardner, the mother of Mr. Greenough, was a granddaughter of the Rev. Francis Gardner, for many years minister of Leominster, and was a grand-niece of Dorothy Quincy, wife of the celebrated John Hancock. In her later years this lady, then doubly widowed by the death of her second husband, Captain Scott, was accustomed to relieve the monotony of her childless house by inviting agreeable young kinswomen to live with her, and making suitable matches for them. One of these was Sarah Gardner, who accordingly came from Leominster to Boston, and whose unusual personal attractions soon won the heart of William Greenough. They were married from Madam Scott's house on the 23d of August, 1817. Their only child was thus descended on both sides from families who during the palmy days of Unitarianism adhered to the old Orthodox faith.

Though few particular anecdotes of Mr. Greenough's boyhood are preserved, it is remembered that he was at one time



W. B. Kemmelf

troublesome because of irrepressible physical activity. Some consequent accident threatened serious lameness. In the enforced repose which followed he took to voracious reading, and thus early displayed that aptitude for books which remained so characteristic. He was prepared for college by a four years' course at the Boston Latin School, supplemented by a fifth year at the private school of Mr. Leverett, who chanced at that time to retire from the mastership of the old public school, and took with him certain promising pupils. As a result, to use Mr. Greenough's words, —

“The studies of the Freshman year and of a portion of the Sophomore year had already received so much attention at school that my time was thrown largely open to other pursuits not strictly scholastic. In consequence, at the end of my Sophomore year, under the peculiar regimen of the college which rated conduct higher than scholarship, I was dismissed, without a word of kindness or warning, for ‘wayward and exceptionable’ conduct, for an interval of three months. This was voluntarily lengthened to a year at Andover, Massachusetts, where I specially pursued Whately's Rhetoric and Logic and the modern languages, for the latter of which I had a strong inclination. Returning to college and entering the Senior Class, I followed especially my preferred tastes in the study of Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese, in the courses of study of Dr. Bachi, to whose eminent learning, large accomplishments, and masterful suggestions I was greatly indebted. I also studied German with Dr. Follen. Besides these courses I had been privately working on the Anglo-Saxon.”

It is characteristic of Mr. Greenough that, despite this unusual scholarly enthusiasm, he possessed such social qualities as to be made, in 1836, a member of the Porcellian Club. He took his degree at Harvard in 1837. His brief record of the ensuing year or two is more expressive than any paraphrase could be: —

“The result of my education to this point was good Latin and Greek scholarship, a good knowledge of the written French, and a fair knowledge of German, Italian, and Spanish. I had also in my senior year compiled a grammar of Anglo-Saxon. Besides this, I wrote the language (English) with sufficient polish, had no practice as a speaker, and no practical education, for every-day use and life.”

For the moment every-day life failed to attract him. To use his own words again, —

“With a strong desire to fit myself for usefulness in the languages, especially Oriental, I went to Andover for the year succeeding my graduation, and laid a foundation in three or four of these tongues, with a view to a professorship in a Southern college, about which I had been sounded by my kind friend, Mr. John Pickering, one of the most eminent of our American scholars, and for which due preparation was to be made by a two years’ residence in Germany. After some reflection, I concluded that the result would be more satisfactory if I engaged in active business, with a view of accumulating in a few years a sufficiency of property to enable one to retire from business and pursue one’s taste for study at one’s own leisure. Like many dreams of the young and inexperienced, my expectations had no fulfilment, and the story carries its appropriate moral.”

Yet it may be doubted whether the complete fulfilment of his youthful expectations could have brought about a life so useful as his was destined to be. At twenty years of age his scholarship was remarkable, and his knowledge of human nature far from extensive. The manner in which he proceeded to extend it was characteristic.

On the 16th of August, 1838, according to his brief memoranda, —

“Entered my father’s hardware store, 14 Merchants’ Row. Having previously lived a scholarly if not a scholastic life, I found that my line of thought and conversation had nothing of common interest with the people in practical life who were getting their living by handicraft or by country store-keeping. And for the purpose of being among them, I first went to board at No. 11 Elm Street, a largely frequented tavern, where I gradually mastered the general points of country store-keeping; and then in the winter took the only single room in the Lagrange House in Union Street, frequented by pedlers, sea-faring men, etc. After graduating at this institution, I removed to the American House, kept by Mr. Lewis Rice, in Hanover Street, a respectable and well-kept hotel.

“In my communion with the majority of the people who make up the world of life, this education was of more practical importance than all the book-learning, though that partially accumulated stock of knowledge was not neglected in the future.”

This future proved widely and variously busy. In 1840 he became a partner of his father. At first, however, his business cares appear to have been light. His first recorded journey out of New England was in May, 1840, when he went to Baltimore with the Boston delegation to attend the ratification

meeting of the nomination of General Harrison for the Presidency; his anecdotic reminiscences of this excursion used to indicate that the personal conduct of American politicians sixty years ago was less austere than is sometimes asserted by pious tradition. In December, 1840, he first went to Europe, where—as in his various later travels abroad—he industriously verified the details to which guide-books and catalogues directed his swift and accurate attention. In April, 1841, he returned home. There, on the 15th of the following June, he was married to Catherine Scollay, the younger daughter of Charles Pelham Curtis, of Boston. Of the six children who sprung from this marriage, four survive: William, for some years past resident in New York; Charles Pelham, of the Boston bar; Malcolm Scollay, now of Cleveland, Ohio; and Edith, wife of Barrett Wendell, of Boston. The two other daughters died unmarried, one in infancy.

In 1843, 1845, and 1847 his business involved extended journeys to the West, then a region where travel still meant primitive hardship. From 1847 to 1849 he was a member of the Common Council of the city of Boston, an office which he accepted “for the purpose of furthering and obtaining the introduction of a water supply for the city.” On the Fourth of July, 1849, he delivered the annual oration by which the city is accustomed officially to celebrate the anniversary of American Independence; his subject was “The Conquering Republic.” About this time is said to have come a critical incident in his career. He found himself on such personally intimate terms with the leaders of the old Whig party that he was privately offered a nomination for Congress. This he agreed to accept, on condition that it receive the unanimous approval of the nominating powers. Unanimity proved wanting; and although he remained in closely confidential relations with the elder Whig politicians—particularly with Mr. Abbott Lawrence—he never took official part in national politics. The importance of his true life-work was local. In 1852 he was put in charge of the Boston Gas-Light Company; and in 1856 he was appointed a Trustee of the Boston Public Library. The career of double civic usefulness thus begun continued unbroken until 1888. In that year failing health compelled him to resign from the Board of Trustees of the Public Library, of which for the preceding twenty-two years he had

been president. A year later the Boston Gas-Light Company passed into other hands than those of the owners who had so long managed it with conscientious solicitude for the public good. Mr. Greenough's last ten years were passed in more and more invalid retirement. He died at his house on Marlborough Street, in Boston, on the 17th of June, 1899.

From 1840 he had been a citizen of Boston; but for some years before 1864 he had passed his summers at Swampscott. Pleasant memories of his life there still endure. He was particularly fond of the deep-sea fishing which at that time was held a diverting sport, and which attracted to our coast a number of Canadian gentlemen, eminent in the commercial and the political life of the Dominion. With several of these Mr. Greenough contracted lasting friendship. It is said that his gayety was the life of many a Swampscott fishing-party; and it is certain that nothing gave him more pleasure than the occasional visits to Canada in later years which renewed the associations of this earlier time. In 1864 it came to an end; he bought the old Greenleaf estate in Quincy. Here he passed most of each year from that time till 1888. The original house he replaced by the large and generous one which still stands there; and for a while the unusual beauty of his grounds, where the trees, planted years ago by one of the Greenleaves, are various and noble, greatly interested him. So did the far from elaborate gardening which he found within his means. Towards the end of his life at Quincy, however, his failing strength showed itself in neglect of these matters which had once afforded him such wholesome recreation. He finally removed to Boston with a sense of relief.

Among the clubs, societies, and the like of which he was a member, may be mentioned the American Oriental Society, of which in 1843 he was a founder; the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Harvard College, of which he became an honorary member in 1849; the Massachusetts General Hospital, of which he was a Trustee for ten years, beginning in 1856; the Provident Institution for Savings, with which his connection lasted from 1857 to the end; the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, of which he was a Trustee from 1870 until his health compelled him to relinquish all responsibilities; and those purely social bodies, the Wednesday Evening Club, the Somerset Club, and the Friday Club, of Boston.

This last named, a dinner club peculiarly congenial to Mr. Greenough, was founded by a meeting called at his house on Temple Street, on the 21st of March, 1859. The original members were Professor Agassiz, Mr. Sidney Bartlett, Judge B. R. Curtis, Mr. Greenough, Mr. George S. Hillard, Mr. Robert M. Mason, Mr. Charles W. Storey, and President Felton, of Harvard College. The first dinner of the club was held at the Parker House on the 1st of April, 1859. A record of this and of two hundred and twenty subsequent dinners, ending with the 28th of March, 1884, exists in Mr. Greenough's handwriting.¹ Among the later members of the club who no longer survive were Professor William B. Rogers, Mr. Henry P. Sturgis, Mr. William Amory, Mr. George Ticknor, Chief Justice Bigelow, Mr. William H. Gardiner, Mr. William Gray, Mr. Charles Francis Adams, and Mr. James Russell Lowell; and among the guests from time to time were many other interesting men. Mr. Greenough's notes of the earlier meetings show that the talk was apt to turn on political matters and occasionally to wax warm; his later entries state merely who were present. The last dinner he recorded was one where he himself was host; among the guests were President Eliot, of Harvard College, and General Walker, President of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. To persons familiar with the Boston of the last generation, this mere list of names must be significant. It indicates not only the wide range of interest in public affairs which Mr. Greenough always maintained and the general social qualities in which he delighted, but also his incessant interest in the learning which at first he had hoped to make his chief occupation. Though his ostensible duties took him far from the profession of education, this was never far from his sympathies; and it is believed that he was frequently consulted by the friends under whose care the education of New England prospered during the years of his maturity.

On April 10, 1879, he was elected to the Massachusetts Historical Society. The ground for this election was partly, no doubt, the unusual range and variety of his antiquarian knowledge. Among his busy relaxations was an eager interest in the facts of New England history and genealogy, concerning which he made innumerable memoranda; for one thing, he kept an interleaved copy of the Harvard Triennial Catalogue,

¹ This record is in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

in which he entered with punctilious care every detail which came to his knowledge about every man whose name appeared in those pleasantly barbarous Latinized columns. Had he been merely an antiquarian, however, it is doubtful whether the Historical Society would certainly have recognized him. He belongs rather to that group of its members who owe their selection not so much to their historical scholarship or to their writings as to the fact that their public services have made them at least locally memorable.

Yet in one sense Mr. Greenough had hardly any public career. His three years in the Common Council, at the time when Boston needed a water supply, comprise all his precisely official life. What made him essentially a public servant was, on the one hand, the essentially civic character of the corporation of which he was so long the guiding spirit, and on the other hand the incalculable civic importance of the Public Library, which owes so much of its present dignity to his wise, watchful, unremitting care.

In 1852, when he was thirty-four years old, the Boston Gas-Light Company, a corporation with a capital of \$500,000, found itself, by reason of carelessness on the part of its practical manager, in a somewhat disturbing condition. Concerning the manufacture of illuminating gas, Mr. Greenough at that time knew hardly anything. His remarkably systematic mental training, however, had combined with his impregnable good sense, his accumulating experience of general affairs, and his knowledge of all sorts and conditions of men, to attract towards him the attention of the elderly gentlemen then in control of the corporation. His own brief memorandum tells the story of what ensued: "I became Treasurer, with the whole management of their business, in consultation with the Directors, when deemed necessary by me. In the continuation of this trust to the close of 1887, the paid up capital of the company, after thirty-five years, is \$2,500,000." Early in 1889 the property was sold for six millions.

These figures tell the story of a civic work at once admirable and in its issue somewhat melancholy. The problem which Mr. Greenough found before him was to provide the large and growing city of Boston with adequate illumination. To do this required not only administrative and financial intelligence of high order, but also studious familiarity with an increas-

ingly technical kind of manufacture, and in addition to these, incessant dealings with the shifting and unstable personages brought by annual elections into temporary control of the city government. These widely various duties he performed with unremittent care and skill. Boston was provided with a system of gas lighting which in its day was among the best, for both quality and efficiency, in the world. The property and the franchise of the Gas-Light Company, meanwhile, originally encumbered and of somewhat dubious value, so developed as to attract the cupidity of speculative adventurers. The inevitable result finally came; all he could do was to make terms which should assure the fortune of his stockholders. His own holdings in the corporation were so small that, except for a generous present voted him at the time of his retirement, he would have withdrawn from his thirty-five years of service little richer than he began them. For many of those years his salary was only four thousand dollars.

It was probably during the earliest part of this strictly business career that one of Mr. Greenough's most significant traits finally declared itself. As his record of education so pleasantly indicates, his powers matured early. In consequence, he excited much friendly interest on the part of men far older than he. Apparently he found the accomplishments of these gentlemen more sympathetic than the less settled characteristics of his more youthful contemporaries. At all events, by the time when he was thirty-five years of age, his most intimate personal relations were generally with men old enough to be his father. This fact goes far to explain the evident personal solitude of his later life. The generation to which he belonged at heart, though not in years, was dead long before his days of fruitful usefulness were over.

Among the elder men whose friendship he thus attracted was Mr. John Pickering, an eminent scholar and the principal founder of the American Oriental Society. Of these founders Mr. Greenough was the last survivor. As he stated in his brief notes concerning his education, his early intention of preparing himself for a professorship of languages was partly influenced by Mr. Pickering's suggestions; and in spite of the complete change in Mr. Greenough's purposes his friendship with Mr. Pickering appears to have lasted, cordial as ever,

until the death of the latter, in 1846. It was perhaps through this earlier intimacy that a few years later Mr. Greenough found himself drawn into such close and enduring personal relations with Mr. George Ticknor. His intimacy with Mr. Ticknor was certainly the circumstance which most happily influenced that portion of his career which proved of the highest public service. This, of course, was his admirable and prolonged management of the Boston Public Library.

So considerable and comprehensive a civic institution as this Library must owe its origin and development to widely diffused public spirit; to speak of any one man as its founder, then, is perhaps unduly to neglect others; yet as one considers the history of the Public Library, it seems constantly more certain that we should hardly have possessed this noble monument without the generous, far-seeing, and not justly remembered energy and persistency of Mr. Ticknor. His eminent scholarship, his untiring and fruitful labors as a literary historian, and his exceptional social career abroad and at home, are matters of familiar tradition. So, in a manner faintly tinctured with humour, are some personal peculiarities which prevented him from enjoying general popularity. What stands in danger of being forgotten is his life-long purpose that, so far as lay in his power, the widest resources of learning and culture should be freely open to every human being who could in any wise benefit by them or enjoy them. No citizen of Boston has ever done a work at heart more unreservedly popular than that which thus proceeded from a man often thought unduly limited in his relations with other people.

The formal founding of the Public Library occurred in 1852. Of the Trustees then appointed the most eminent were George Ticknor and Edward Everett. In that very year, however, Mr. Everett was called away from New England by his appointment to the office of Secretary of State; and until 1854, when the Library was actually opened, its organization lay chiefly in the hands of Mr. Ticknor. The story of his faithful work is adequately set forth in Miss Ticknor's pious, sympathetic *Life of her father*.¹ This excellent book, however, touches lightly on his chief limitation, of which he was probably aware; he lacked the kind of tact which seems need-

¹ Vol. ii. chap. xv.

ful for successful dealings with such men as hold office in modern American cities. He possessed, on the other hand, both the enlightened culture which enabled him to plan the scholarly future of the Public Library, and the generous public spirit which enabled him equally to foresee and to prepare its more popular features. What the Library clearly needed was a whole-souled Trustee who should combine these traits, so fully developed in Mr. Ticknor, with experienced power of conciliating the every-day citizens who chanced to hold civic authority.

It seems doubtful whether in 1856 there was any citizen of Boston more fitted to meet this need than Mr. Greenough. At thirty-eight years of age, his powers were mature; and they had grown to maturity amid surroundings which made him personally familiar not only with a wide range of learning but also with almost every aspect of New England life. He was born Orthodox, and in youth attended the church of Dr. Lyman Beecher; he was educated partly at Harvard and partly at Andover; he was a Porcellian man and the compiler of an unpublished Anglo-Saxon grammar; he was married to a Unitarian of King's Chapel; he was a widely accomplished linguist and a learned local antiquarian; his travels had made him acquainted both with Europe and with our own Western States; his confidential friendship with leaders of the old Whig party had afforded him considerable knowledge of national politics; for years, meanwhile, he had been engaged in a business which involved close contact with people of the plainer sort; he had been a member of the City government; and his more recent business had kept him in frequent relations with subsequent governments of the City. He was conspicuously free from the temptations which beset those too freely endowed with the gifts of imagination or humour; he was equally conspicuous for indomitable energy and for illimitable common-sense. Finally, he was heart and soul interested in the public work of which he now became an almost life-long Trustee.

His first considerable service to it he was fond of remembering. When, in 1855, Mr. Joshua Bates offered his second great endowment to the Public Library, a number of scholars and experts were consulted as to what books might most desirably be bought. Among these Mr. Greenough, either just before his appointment as Trustee or just after it, was

requested to make some suggestions. He took up his pencil, and wrote in a line or two that the Library ought to possess the County Histories of England. The suggestion is said to have appealed instantly to the sympathies of Mr. Bates. At all events, it has resulted in a collection of English local histories unequalled in America. Mr. Greenough never rendered the Public Library but one more signal single service; this was years later when, as president, he negotiated the purchase of the Barton Library, which enriched Boston with one of the most important Shakspearean collections in the world. Incalculably his chief services, however, were no such single ones as these; they were embraced in the innumerable details of his daily care for the Library during his thirty-two years of office there. For a full twenty-two of these years he was president of the Board of Trustees.

The story of the growth and development of the Library during this period may be read in its official reports. In 1856, when he first became a Trustee, the Library had been little more than a generously endowed experiment, favored alike by the public spirit of the City authorities and by the personal enthusiasm of scholarly and beneficent private citizens; in 1888, when he relinquished the presidency, it was an institution of learning so firmly established and so widely recognized that it had served as a model for countless others of similar character in various parts of the world. All this is matter of common knowledge. What has never been fully appreciated, except by those who were constantly at hand, is the extent to which Mr. Greenough's indefatigable care, and tact, and prudence, and enthusiasm contributed to so noble a result. For one thing, to the end of Mr. Ticknor's life, the intimacy between them never relaxed. It is said that, whenever Mr. Ticknor was in Boston, hardly a Sunday afternoon passed without an interview between the elder friend and the younger; and it is probable that almost all of these cordial meetings were partly occupied with consultations concerning the Public Library which was so near to the hearts of both. Long after Mr. Ticknor's death, indeed, it was Mr. Greenough's practice often to pass a part of Sunday afternoon with Mr. Ticknor's daughter, who so loyally preserved her father's traditions. Thus keeping constantly in touch with the first impulses from which the Library had sprung, Mr.

Greenough actually devoted to the details of its management hours of every day. Just when his habits in this matter grew fixed it is hard to say ; but during the last ten or fifteen years of his presidency they had taken on marvellous regularity. His mornings he devoted uninterruptedly to the affairs of the Gas-Light Company ; then he would lunch at his club, selecting his fare with much deliberation, and supplementing the meal with a single not very large cigar ; then he would proceed to the Library, where in his inner office he would set to work over the innumerable questions of policy, of purchase, of management, of dealings with men public and private, which constantly arose. He would commonly emerge, in the mid afternoon, with a number of new books under his arm, and with sundry booksellers' catalogues in his pocket. The books were his chief relaxation ; he read them with astonishing speed, and remembered them as accurately as if he had studied them. The catalogues he would somehow find time to run through, pencil in hand. In the course of years he thus developed exceptional knowledge of bibliography and of book-prices. He is said also to have developed a remarkable intuitive knowledge of what the Library possessed and what it lacked. No human memory, of course, could consciously include a catalogue in which the entries were rising into the hundreds of thousands ; Mr. Greenough's unconscious memory, however, came nearer such inclusion than would seem credible. An instance is remembered where a friend brought him two small books concerning out-of-the-way dialects spoken by American Indians. He instantly declared that he believed the Library to possess one and not the other ; and his impression proved correct.

A less obvious phase of his work was never generally recognized. As the Library grew, its staff of employees, in every grade, inevitably increased ; and this included men and women of widely divergent degrees of character and culture. With these, in general, his relations became exceptional. At least after his youthful days, he was addicted to personal reticence, — by no means the kind of man who provokes a feeling of intimacy. On the other hand, his fundamental kindness of temper, his thorough sense of justice, and his practical tact in dealing with men slowly grew to command unfailing confidence. In more instances than a few, it is believed, he was

appealed to for advice concerning the private affairs of these persons who found themselves publicly in his employ. And a few cases which are definitely remembered afford ground for conjecture that there are many such people whose memories of him are irradiated by a sense of personal gratitude. When at last he retired from office, the employees of the Library presented him with an elaborately engrossed testimonial of their esteem, which he highly prized. Such testimonials are doubtless apt to be perfunctory. In this case, however, if many private words may be believed, every signature was given with eagerness to express a warmth of regard which under the circumstances could not escape the limits of formal phrase.

Throughout Mr. Greenough's presidency the Library was so managed as to develop almost equally those two phases of its usefulness which might once have seemed incompatible. It was a repository of the higher learning, preserving for scholars and experts, and keeping freely at their disposal, resources for minutely special study and investigation. It was also a free lending library, providing for the people of Boston an almost unlimited supply of general reading. In each phase it steadily grew and steadily improved. Its publications meanwhile — its catalogues and handbooks and the like — constantly called the attention of the learned to its increasing riches, and reminded the simple of those opportunities for wholesome intellectual pleasure which were brought to their very doors. In which phase of the Library Mr. Greenough was more deeply interested it is hard to say. He was so deeply interested in both that he strove to advance both impartially. And so the Library grew, until its old quarters on Boylston Street could no longer serve its purposes. Among the last of Mr. Greenough's duties was an endeavor to secure for the institution to which he had devoted so much of his life a new, permanent abiding place, of such character as his years of experience had convinced him to be fitting.

In his private talk about the new building, Mr. Greenough permitted himself a freedom and decision of expression all the more noteworthy because he so rarely gave utterance to opinion. The structure, he believed, ought to be thoroughly fire-proof; it ought to be commodious enough to provide for the growth of a century to come; it ought to be planned through-

out with expert understanding of the uses for which it was to be erected, and accordingly in close consultation with people who had learned by experience what the public, scholarly and unlearned alike, needed; and finally, as a civic structure, built at civic cost for civic use, it ought to be free from all ostentation and extravagance, owing its beauty to the dignity of its scale, the harmony of its proportions, and the precision of its adaptation to its purpose. Some such plan as he thus contemplated he hoped that he had assured the City when he was compelled to retire from office. In the matter of fire-proof construction, his principles prevailed; the other conditions, which Mr. Greenough had deemed equally important, were ultimately held less essential to the public library of an American city than such collocations of form and color, for their own sake, as should exemplify the taste of an eminent architect. The result, familiar to us all, is undeniably splendid; but so long as Mr. Greenough's powers allowed him to observe its growth, he observed it with diminishing satisfaction. Though, as years go, he was not very old, he had outlived his time. He loved the thoughtful simplicity of the past.

Yet the last days of his consciousness were not all sadness. Throughout his long maturity, to the very verge of his swiftly declining age, he had preserved an unobtrusive rigidity of habit, mental and physical alike. To the eye this revealed itself in various ways. His dark beauty of feature, which in youth must have been extraordinary, so retained its alert strength that when he was seventy years old a careless observer might have mistaken him for a man still in the full vigor of life. His carriage was always somewhat careless, with that sort of carelessness, so frequently characteristic of elder New England, which disdains external forms. His clothes, of which he was by no means neglectful, were never exactly in the fashion. He never looked eccentric, nor ever quite like anybody else. This individuality of aspect corresponded with extreme fixity of personal behavior. He kept regular hours; he thoughtfully considered and heartily relished what he daily ate and drank and smoked. No one was ever much more free from asceticism on the one hand or from excess on the other. He was affable and voluble in talk; his acquisitive mind combined with his minutely retentive memory to enrich him with encyclopædic stores of fact; and

these he would always impart freely to any one who consulted him. When it came to expression of opinion, however, he was more than cautious. The better one knew him, it sometimes seemed, the less one knew what he really thought. Not even his immediate family, for example, ever discovered whether he had retained or discarded the inbred Calvinism of his ancestry and his childhood. The deepest personal trait of his later life was the solitude of his unforbidding reticence.

And then came the end, when his powers so rapidly failed. One had grown to think of him as a man whose almost premature development had attached his affections, years and years ago, to that elder generation which had held him an equal friend,—as one whose heart had been buried long before his alert activity had reached its limit. One found him, as his self-control relaxed, gentle, affectionate, and tender. One had grown used to thinking of him as a man so truly of other days that, when newer times surged about him, he must perforce find little pleasure except in saddening memories. One found him ready to take simple delight in kindly trivialities. One looked for closing years of restless discontent; the closing years which came were mostly placid. An hour before he died his fingers were half-consciously turning the leaves of some book, just as they had done through the thirty-two years of his inestimable civic service. By that time his name, never popularly known, was generally forgotten. He rests from his labors now; but so long as learning-lives in New England his works, even though unrecognized, shall follow him. Such citizens as he justify our republic.